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These restrictions apply primarily to the Maki-men and their wives, on whom they are absolutely binding. Their application to other members of the village is not quite so stringent; if one of these, however, were to break, say, the rule against sexual intercourse, he would be careful not to handle any of the food that is to be taken to the workers. The restrictions do not apply to the married daughters of the Maki-men, living as they do in another village, but if one of these has sexual intercourse with her husband at this time she may not come into the home-village.

The gong-makers themselves are not subject to any of the restrictions on food, though the restrictions on walking and on sexual intercourse are implied in their confinement within the precincts of the *ghamal*.

Expert "puts the voice into the gongs"; expert and gong-makers sound them, and others inspect.

From time to time the expert pays a visit to the *ghamal* to see how the gongs are progressing and to instruct the workers.

When he sees that the work is finished,[1] he appoints a day, about three days ahead, when he will come and "put the voice [2] into the gongs." The restrictions on the villagers continue to be imposed until this is performed. The gong-makers also remain in the *ghamal* till, on the day before the ceremony, they make ready for it by going down to the sea to seek a hole [3] in the reef on to which the waves break with a resonating sound. As the water splashes up from this hole they catch the spray in bamboos and conch shells, saying that they are catching the voice of the hole, and carry it back to the *ghamal*.

Next day the expert comes and goes alone behind the screen and, singing softly over the spray, pours it, and with it the voice of the resounding waves, into the gongs. Then he sounds the gongs in turn, giving four [4] strong strokes to each, so that everyone hears the sound and knows that the new gongs are finished.

Then all the gong-makers enter the screen, pay the expert with money-mats, penis-sheaths and other articles, and then sound the gongs again. Finally, the general public is admitted to inspect the gongs, though they are not permitted to sound them.

Velal danced in rotation.

The gongs being now ready, the festivities leading up to their erection and subsequent consecration begin by the members of the introducing "line," followed by those of all the Vao villages, coming in prescribed rotation at intervals of several days to perform the preliminary circular

[1] I have no record of who carves the faces on the gongs. This work is presumably done by the expert himself.
[2] *halaghan*. [3] *herum*.
[4] Four is the number most frequently used in magic; see p. 644.

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sound "*m . . m . . m . . m*" and slightly raise the root. This sound is again repeated, and the root raised a trifle higher. Then this is done again, and yet again, till they have raised it eight times, rising to their feet as they raise it higher and higher until, on raising it and saying "*m . . m. . m . . m*" for the eighth time the kava root is raised as high as possible above their heads. Four is the number used in every magic rite.[1] Eight, therefore, is doubly magical.

Now is the moment when the date of the great sacrifice is announced, and, while all are holding the kava root as high as they can, the Speaker calls out, "*Hangawul raman ghe-mbut barigh Maki*," "Seventeen days from today Maki." The announcement must always be in these terms, and on Vao, as also on Atchin, the date must always be either the 17th, 27th or 37th day ahead, it being essential that the number of days elapsing shall be 7 plus as low a decimal figure as possible. The reason for this appears to be a compromise between the use of 7 as a resurrection or re-birth number, appearing as such in numerous initiation and secret society rites in the Small Islands and Malekula, and the decimal system which plays so prominent a part in all the later forms of Maki ritual.[2] Of the alternative combinations given, the most welcomed, and that which most enhances the prestige of the Maki-men, is 17, since this means the most speedy consummation of the rite. When the announcement has been made, the Speaker brings his oration to a close by saying "*Ia*," and the assembled multitude replies "*Laus-e*."

The date of the great Maki sacrifice having been thus publicly announced, message-yams are laid out on the dancing-ground for the representatives of the various villages to take home with them in token of this fact. No pigs are killed, but after the departure of the guests the men of the introducing "line" are given the puddings prepared for them by the Maki-men during the morning, and eat them in the dancing-ground.

Taur Na-mbak danced by introducing "line" all night and every night till the great sacrifice.

With this day's proceedings the dancing of *Settling-Down* during the heat of the day in the home-village by parties from all the Vao villages in rotation ceases. That night sees the first all-night dance of *Taur Na-mbak*. This is danced by the members of the introducing "line" only, who dance radially and anti-clockwise around the posts supporting the hawk-banners while the Maki-men dance clockwise around them with lighted torches and the women in a stationary circle beyond.[3] Henceforth, till the day

[1] See p. 643.

[2] Compare the 7 days that elapse between the announcement of the operation of incision and its performance. Also the importance of the 107th day after the operation (see pp. 519, 521). According to Harrisson (2, p. 29), the choice of date for gong-raising lies in Matanavat between the 5th, 7th or 10th day from the day of announcement.

[3] See Fig. 46, p. 331.

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what account—during which yams are forbidden, so she gave him the bananas to eat.

After a time, her husband came and said, "What have you done with the bananas?" So she told him, and he said nothing, but was angry. When the rite was over, his wife went to him and said, "I am going to take my father back to the mainland." Then he swore, and threw some of the banana skins at her, and said crossly, "Very well, you go and take your father to the mainland." And she sat down and cried. And when she had finished crying she went and talked to her husband's younger brother, and said to him, "Let me take your canoe to paddle my father to the mainland." He said, "What's the matter with your husband's canoe?" She said, "He's angry, and doesn't want me to take my father home." "All right," he said, "my canoe is on the beach. Go and take it." So she took it, and paddled her father over. And when they got to Showul, she burst out crying again, and told him what her husband had done. So he said, "Very well, you wait seven days, and tell your husband's brother to come and see me then, and I will reward him [1] for the use of his canoe."

Then he went home, and built a new conical store-house, very strong, and gathered yams and cooking-leaves and bananas and all kinds of food and piled them inside it. Then he built another outside the first, and stored that full of food. Five such houses he built, one outside the other, and collected a great store of food against the rain that was to come.

And on the seventh day the woman said to her husband's brother, "Let us go and pay a visit to my father." He said, "Why?" And she said, "He told me to bring you to see him today so that he may reward you for the use of your canoe." So they went ashore and up the hill to Tutu.

That night her father, being a weather magician,[2] made the rain. And it rained, and rained, and the wind blew, and the outer one of his five store-houses was broken through. Then he told his daughter to go to Showul, to see what she could of Mal-weaweng. And when she came back, and they asked her what she had seen, she said, "Only one tree is still left standing in the dancing-ground." And the rain poured down and the wind blew, and next morning her father said to her, "Go down again to Showul, and look again to see what is left of Mal-weaweng." And she went and looked, and could see nothing. And she came back and told them.

7 is Re-birth number on Atchin

It is worth noting that, even in this comparatively circumstantial account, seven days elapse between the giving of the insult and the storm,

[1] The Atchin phrase for "I will reward him" is *pe lemak sm.*
[2] Atchin *pet wahit. Pet* means "stone." The magician is a "stone man."

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and that five superimposed roofs are said to have been built over the magician's food-store. 7 is the typical resurrection and re-birth number on Atchin, as opposed to 5 on Vao. The use of these two numbers agrees with the view already expressed that the tale of the submergence of the island has become a hook on which to hang a much earlier flood-creation myth. Whether weather magic in fact takes seven days to mature I do not know. Much longer periods of incubation have been recorded. Deacon records that the length of time taken by a magician in South-West Malekula in preparation for a magical act "depends in part upon the potency with which he wishes to invest his magic, upon the intensity of his wrath or desire for vengeance. . . . In Lambumbu ten days appears to be the normal period" of intensive preparation.[1]

The possible efficacy of weather magic

I will make no further comment on these stories other than to suggest that, under certain circumstances, the efficacy of weather magic may not be so illusory as is popularly thought. It has for the last few centuries in Europe been the fashion to minimise the power of the human psyche over the phenomena of external nature. Modern research, however, has gone a long way towards proving the reality of the phenomena connected with the exteriorisation of psychical energy, though there are not many among us who are now able to control them. It is, moreover, almost certain that primitive people with relatively undifferentiated egos are in touch with collective powers to a far greater extent than modern man, and that native magicians and others with special gifts in that direction develop and foster them by means of a definite technique. Weather magicians exist among primitive communities throughout the world, and it is well known that they undergo periods of fasting and psychic preparation of an intensive nature before attempting to practise their art. It is unlikely that so much energy should have been expended by so many natives of high standing in so many places and for such uncounted ages if no results whatever were forthcoming. I therefore suggest, not of course that all weather phenomena are capable of being brought under human control, but that in favourable circumstances the relatively close connexion between the primitive mind and natural forces may be such that some kind of contact may indeed be established on the lower levels of consciousness by means of which a certain measure of control may become operative. Thus, while in the accounts just given the real cause of the submergence was clearly some kind of seismic disturbance of a kind not uncommon on the volcanic belt in which the New Hebrides lie, it is interesting to note that the narrators, all of whom attribute it to human agency, are unanimous in staging the kind of psychic tension that they would consider necessary

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 685.

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VERSION 1 (TOLD ON VAO)

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I will give first a more recent matter-of-fact and very over-simplified version recorded by Godefroy on Vao. He considers that the actual submergence took place "at least 150 years ago." [1] After describing the landing of the original survivors on what he calls Atchin Point, he says: "There they constructed a new dancing-ground, and built a new village round it. Later, however, they complained that the new village was too close to the path along which men pass from one island to another, so they decamped again, establishing themselves this time in the interior, towards the mountains. There they established relations with other tribes, but had no dancing-ground of their own. That was the irremediable end of Tolamp as an independent people. Finally, about 100 years ago, reduced to no more than five or six families, they asked hospitality of the people of Vao. Here they were received by the people of Toghvanu and Pete-hul. Today there are no more than two families left; a third died out five years ago." [2]

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The two versions recorded by me, while giving the story in somewhat greater detail, are both dressed in a ritual pattern that can hardly be in accordance with actual fact, depending as they both do on the use of the mystic number 7, recalling the seven days it took for the magician to brew the storm in Version 4 dealing with the actual submergence of the island. This use of the number 7 clearly indicates that the conception lying behind all these tales is one of ritual re-birth, a resurrection following on the catastrophe of the flood. I will give first the version recorded on Vao.

VERSION 2 (TOLD ON VAO)

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Now the survivors who landed at Lembu were a people without a home. First they made a dancing-ground in one place, then in another. They made one at a place now called Le-[3] Moloto, and made Maki there. Then they moved to a place called Na-talal, and made Maki there. Then to Le-sar Asum, then to La-mbar-humbun, and then to Tambi. At each of these places they made Maki, and then moved elsewhere. All these places were close to the sea and in sight of the submerged island. At the Maki at Tambi were still present some of those who were born on Tolamp. At last the men of the mainland village

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 215. According to my own calculations it must have taken place even earlier, since the giant monolith set up by the survivors' descendants (see p. 586) was erected not less than 150 years ago.

[2] Ibid., 1, 1933, p. 49.

[3] Le-sar is the locative form of the Vao *se-sar*, meaning "dancing-ground," and so also "village."

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of Le-mel [1] Pughe persuaded them, and said, "It is no use your always staying close to the sea. You keep on thinking of your island and hoping that one day you will be able to go back to it, and you can't settle down and stay in one place. It were better you come up here and stay with us." So they left Tambi and went up to Le-mel Pughe and founded a permanent village there, and called it after their lost island, Tolamp.[2]

Now all their pigs had been drowned, so when they wanted to make Maki they had at first to sacrifice 100 ants, then 100 shell-beads (*na-sum*), then 100 dogs, then 100 crabs (*na-ghāv*), then 100 shell-fish of a kind called *na-ghar*, then 100 *ninge* nuts, and hundreds of many other things, till at last they made a proper Maki with a hundred pigs.

The substitution of other forms of sacrifice such as those mentioned above instead of pigs is a type of myth common throughout the Small Islands and North Malekula when dealing with the origin of the Maki. While details of the kinds of animal or fruit sacrificed vary somewhat, the number of kinds, including the final sacrifice of pigs, is invariably seven, as is the case in the above account. It will be noted also that, including Lembu, the place where they first swam ashore, the survivors changed their abode seven times before finally settling down in their new home and called it after the name of their lost island, Tolamp. In the Atchin version, though the names of the places are not all the same, the fact that seven was the number of changes made is definitely stated as a significant fact. This version runs as follows:

VERSION 3 (TOLD ON ATCHIN)

When Mal-weaweng was submerged, the men of Tonlap (Tolamp) swam across to a place on the mainland coast called Viawor, and made a village there and a dancing-ground. But all their pigs had been drowned, so they had none to sacrifice. So they said, "It is useless for us to stop here. We must go elsewhere." So they went to Le-tsar [3] Na-ghar and made a dancing-ground. But still they had no pigs, so they moved again to Le-tsar Mòlöti, then to Le-tsar Na-shum, then to Bot N'amil. Each time they made a new dancing-ground, but still had no pigs. At last they came to Tabwish, where the men of Vao come ashore to go to their gardens. Here they stopped, till the men of Mel Tar said, "It is useless for you to stop here. Come with us, and we will go a little way

[1] *Mel* is one of the many forms connected with the Vao word *ghamal*, used with the meaning of "dancing-ground," and so also "village."

[2] This is said to have occurred a long time before the birth of Pelur (see genealogy, p. 93).

[3] *Le-tsar* is the Atchin and mainland form of the Vao *le-sar*, the locative form of the word used for the dancing-ground round which each village centres.

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has first to receive the sanction of the last in the long line of practitioners before being invested with the power to act. It is true that in many cases a man hands on his magical knowledge to his own son or to his sister's son. But nepotism is a world-wide phenomenon, and the point to notice is that he need not, and that the choice of a successor lies within the personal competence of each individual practitioner. 789

This principle applies in every case, whether the names of those forming the ghostly hierarchy of previous practitioners reaching back into the unrecorded past are remembered or not. It would appear, therefore, that in each magical act, whether the material medium be a stone believed to contain the essence of all previous practitioners or simply a piece of kava root or leaf used in a traditional manner, and whether the ghosts of the dead are appealed to by name or not, the cultural sanction comes from the ever-watchful ghosts. But whereas in matters concerning everyday social life the important ghosts are those of direct ancestors, in magic the ghosts are those belonging to the spiritual hierarchy formed by all previous practitioners, chief among whom, where known, is the supposed "inventor" of the rite.

The Number 4

This brings us to the second point in our consideration of the cultural basis of magic, and in this it will not be quite so easy to draw a clear distinction between cultural and psychological factors. I have referred to the supposed "inventor" of a rite. Now it is clear that, though without doubt individuals must have added their quota towards building up the huge corpus of magical procedure, the basic conceptions must have grown out of something much deeper than mere conscious "invention." The fact which I wish now to bring to the notice of the reader is clearly not one that could ever have been "invented," but has to do with something much more fundamental in human nature. This is the magical use of numbers. 801

Brief survey of the use of numbers.

The careful reader of this work cannot but have been struck with the ritual importance of numbers. Thus, we have seen how 5 is the number of re-birth and resurrection in the older forms of Small Island culture and 7 in the later; how 10 is connected with the monolith-Maki; how 30 in the sense of thirty days (theoretically the moon's cycle) is connected with periods of re-birth involving seclusion and abstinence; how 50 and 100 are ritually important as being multiples of 5 and 10; and how two different systems of numbering can become fused as in the combination of 7 and 10 leading to the 17, 27 or 37-day period elapsing between the announcing of the great Maki sacrifice and its performance.

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The number 4 is magic.

It is remarkable that not one of the above numbers ever appears, so far as I know, in Small Island magic.[1] In these islands magical procedure is, on the other hand, connected exclusively with the number 4 and its multiple 8. Thus, in almost every magical performance of which I have sufficient record, either 4 leaves or other objects are used, as in the weather magic described above, or else all or part of the action is repeated 4 times, or else the incantation, itself usually consisting of 4 parts, is sung 4 times in succession. In some cases all these types of repetition are included in one and the same rite, in others the magic number occurs only in one or other element in the procedure. Sometimes in special cases it may be doubled to 8. In all cases, however, the basic magical number is 4.

It is clear, then, that the number 4 has some very definite significance in the native mind, and in seeking what this may be it is necessary first to find out in what other ritual contexts it occurs in the Small Islands. These may be seen quite clearly in Vao culture alone.

The number 4 in mortuary rites signifies "completion."

I have already suggested that all magical procedure has a common basis in an appeal to the ghosts of the dead, whether explicit in that some specified ghost or ghostly hierarchy is mentioned or not. It is therefore interesting to note that the most striking use of the number 4, apart from its use in magic, is in the mortuary rites. It is to be noted, moreover, that the use of the number 4 in mortuary rites differs from that of the numbers 5 and 7. For 5 (in the older cultural level) and 7 (in the later) are both connected exclusively not with death as such but, on the contrary, with the life after death, representing in each case the number of days elapsing before the ghost is admitted into full partnership with the living dead.[2] In contrast with these, the number 4 has to do only with death as an act complete in itself. More than this, all the occurrences of the number 4 that I have recorded in my account of the death of an old man beginning on p. 546, are connected with the older level of matrilineal culture still so prominent on Vao. The first two occur during the rites accompanying the death feast called *Matean* when (*a*), after those present have sung the song celebrating the first Maki performed by To-wewe and his sister with the twin *tawò* kernels representing the two matrilineal moieties, they then laugh and cry and call out "*I . . . i . . . i . . . ui*" 4 times; and (*b*) a relative impersonating the dead man enters the hut built

[1] 7 occurring as the number of days it took for the weather magic to mature in the tale dealing with the submergence of Tolamp recounted on p. 575, and 5 as the number of superimposed houses built over the magician's food-store in the same tale, have to do not with the weather magic as such, but with the fact that the whole story has become confused with a creation or re-birth myth, 5 being the re-birth or resurrection number in the older form of Small Island culture and 7 in the later.

[2] See pp. 230, 561.

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over the grave, and those without call out 4 times, whereon he replies in the name of the dead man saying that he has come from his mother's village, and himself then cries out 4 times while those without weep. In the same way, when the canoe laden with food and clothing for the dead man is launched and sent to the dead man's mother's village, those who swim out with it cry "*E . . . e . . . e . . . e . . .*" 4 times and weep. Further examples in my account of the mortuary rites for a young man are that (*a*) the 2 or 4 men who have buried the body go down to the sea, where to purify themselves they scoop up sea-water in special leaves, sipping it and spitting it out 4 times, and (*b*) on the day when the mortuary canoe is launched one of two special men, after blowing conch-shell trumpet signals, calls out "*I . . . i . . . i . . . i . . .*" 4 times in front of the dead man's house, and also weeps.[1]

It will be noticed that in none of these cases is there any indication whatever of any belief concerning the life after death on the volcano, which belongs to a different level of culture, but that, on the contrary, they indicate the finality of death, through which the ghost of the dead man returns for ever to the village of his maternal kin. His cycle of life is complete, and the number signifying this completion is 4.

The number 4 in birth also signifies "completion."

Having established the significance of this number with regard to the phenomenon of death, let us now turn to an examination of its meaning with regard to the other end of life, namely birth. For here too the number 4 is prominent, this time during the naming rite when in Vao the child is carried by 4 women, and in North-West Malekula is passed 4 times over a fire and is made 4 times to touch two trees, while in Mota the number 4 is used at birth in an even greater number of ways.[2] It is to be noted that, while 7 signifies the hope of spiritual re-birth, this number never appears during the rites of actual birth in the flesh. 7 is therefore an incomplete number representing what *may be*, but never what *is*. 4, on the contrary, represents what *is*, and I suggest that here too, as in the mortuary rites, it signifies completion, this time the completion of the process of birth.

The number 4 in the Maki also signifies "completion."

If we now turn to the Maki, which is primarily a re-birth rite, we are struck by the almost complete absence in it of the number 4. There is, however, one very striking occasion on which it appears. This is when, after many years of preparatory rites, all is now ready for the final act. Then the Speaker, having marked out with red paint the nipples of a representative of each marriage class on the island as well as of any others from overseas who wish to attend the rite, raises a kava root,

[1] See pp. 560, 562. [2] See p. 178.

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whereon they all, touching the root signifying continuity with all previous performances of the rite, utter a nasal sound "*m* . . . *m* . . . *m* . . . *m*" and slightly raise the root, repeating this 8 times, after which the date of the great sacrifice is finally announced.[1] Here once again I suggest that the significance of the number 4, here doubled to 8 because of the supreme importance of the occasion, is that of completion, this time referring to the years of preparation leading up to the final great sacrificial act.

The number 4 in kinship signifies "perfection." The 4 Quarters of Pete-hul.

I will not take up space with further examples, but will turn to the question of *why* 4 means completion, and what this has to do with the magical act. The answer may be made either in cultural or in psychological terms, depending on the angle from which it is approached. I will consider first the cultural aspect. The most fundamental aspect of native culture lies in the regulation of kinship and social organisation. It is therefore by no means irrelevant to point out that the number 4 is not only used in ritual, but in fact pervades the whole social organisation of the Small Islands as seen primarily in Vao in what the natives refer to as the "ideal" division of the village of Pete-hul into 4 Quarters.[2] This "perfect" arrangement is said to have been due to the direct action of Ta-ghar [3] in causing the *memel* fruit to split into two, thereby making a man and a woman from whom issued the 4 brothers who are regarded as being the ancestors respectively of the inhabitants of the 4 Quarters. This "perfect" arrangement was, however, considerably modified in the remaining villages of the island on account of the kinship upheavals some nine generations ago described in earlier chapters. The same process seems to have taken place in the remaining Small Islands, notably in Atchin where, despite later influences, the appearance of 4 brothers at certain nodal points in the genealogies as well as numerous survivals in the existing social organisation testify to the underlying 4-fold division.

The number 4 based on a primarily "incomplete" Dual Division based on matrilineal descent, completed by recognition of patrilineal moieties.

The first thing to note about this in relation to magic is the natives' own view regarding the "perfection" of this 4-fold division of society, according closely with our previous conclusion that the number 4 used in magic signified "completion." The two concepts being so similar, it is our task now to find out why this particular number should bear this very special meaning. Here we are once more led back directly to a consideration of the regulations governing kinship. For, as has been explained in a previous chapter,[4] the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul themselves

[1] See pp. 377, 422.
[2] See p. 68.
[3] Compare the name Le-taghar given to the alleged foundress of weather magic as described on pp. 633 ff.
[4] See p. 154.

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go back to a yet earlier form of social organisation into 4 kinship sections, and these in turn take their origin in a dual organisation with matrilineal descent.[1]

It may be asked in this case why 2 and not 4 should be the ideal number, 2 being the number connected with the dual organisation from which the whole kinship system appears to have sprung. The answer to this is, I think, that while in the purely biological sphere 2 represents the fundamental division of human beings into two sexes, when it comes to the organisation of society a division into two exogamous moieties must inevitably be one-sided, since such an arrangement is bound to be unilateral, depending either on matrilineal or on patrilineal descent. But I have shown[2] that the fundamental institution of bilateral cross-cousin marriage combined with the exchange of a sister for a wife automatically creates both matrilineal and patrilineal moieties, and the two sets of moieties operating together automatically create a 4-section system.

It would appear, then, that what is meant in the native mind by the "perfection" of the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul is that it in fact rests on a 4-section basis which is the only system in the world that gives, or can give, equal weight to both matrilineal and patrilineal descent. For this reason it is both "perfect" and "complete," and any subsequent developments, necessary and inevitable though they may be from other points of view, can only destroy its internal harmony as a kinship system.

Connexion between the use of the number 4 in magic and kinship.

Thus, on the purely cultural level there is ample reason for the special significance of 4 as the "completion" or "perfection" number.

In the sphere of social organisation this is frequently expressed in terms of 4 ancestors referred to as "brothers," representing the 4-fold division of society, as in the Vao and Atchin cases already cited. This phenomenon is of course far from being confined to the Small Islands of Malekula. The relation between the two pairs of moieties and the psychological aspect of magic is well illustrated by the fact, already mentioned on p. 166 with regard to social organisation, that in the neighbouring village of Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula a diviner appeals to 4 spirits, two of whom are male and two female. Such spirits there "always go in fours." Lest it should be thought, however, that the connexion between magical numbers and social organisation is fortuitous, the same district affords us with proof seen in an interesting exception to the rule. This is that, in certain forms of magic, as in the magic for making wind, some of the cries are repeated, not 4 times as in

[1] It is interesting in this connexion that Rivers (1, vol. II, p. 408) on quite different grounds ascribed the magic of Melanesia to the "dual people" as opposed to the immigrant "kava people."

[2] See pp. 103 ff.

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801 Vao, but 6 times,[1] corresponding to a later 6-fold division of society in a manner recalling the 6 stones supporting the table-stone of the dolmen at Pete-hul.[2]

The psychological aspect. Tension between pairs of complementary opposites. Psychological functions.

This is, however, but one aspect of the tension between pairs of complementary opposites. We have already seen another aspect of it in relation to the social organisation of warfare.[3] Tension between complementary opposites is, however, also a psychological phenomenon believed by many to be the mainspring of all creative effort. I have already on p. 516 expressed the opinion that the idea of weather magic has a basis in real fact, and that at least one of the factors contributing to it is the conscious control of psychic tension producing a force similar to the spark taking place between two opposite electric poles which, when projected under favourable conditions into the material world, produces the desired effect. What I wish to suggest here is that the use in magic of the number 4 is, quite apart from its association with the kinship problem, by no means a chance one, and that both these phenomena probably rest on a common psychological truth. In other words, that two pairs of opposites combining to produce a 4-fold division of society have their counterpart in a similar structure of the psyche represented by the 4 psychological functions demonstrated by Jung [4] and the 4-fold aspect of so many primitive magico-religious systems throughout the world. If this is the case, to the magician gathering up his psychic forces preparatory to the launching of a magical act the number 4 would represent "completion" in the sense of the "wholeness" of his own personality united into a single entity and directed towards the achievement of one single-minded purpose. Precisely how this is achieved we do not know, and only further intensive investigation on psychological lines of the magician's self-preparation and the methods by which he finally launches his bolt can show.

[1] Harrisson, 2, p. 50. [2] See p. 367. [3] See p. 589.
[4] Cf. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*. London, 1924.